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which are moral as well as biological. The behaviour which is considered appropriate for the male and female stereotypes is at many points antithetical, and relations between the sexes are hostile although this hostility cannot generally be given overt expression. The male sex is held to be unambiguously superior not only in power but also in worth to the female, to which the stigma of original sin is closely attached. The female is a constant threat to the honour and integrity of the male, and must be disciplined and dominated. In the absence, therefore, of a unilineal descent principle, it is reasonable to suppose that these attitudes and beliefs of the Sarakatsani concerning the relation of the sexes are significantly connected with the preference for paternal kinsmen.

Patrilocal marriage fits consistently into the pattern of these preferences. A man brings his bride into the household of his father or if he has retired, into the household of his elder brother. The extended family of origin remains a single corporate unit until such time as one or more of the brothers decide to contract out, claiming then, as is their inalienable right, their equal shares in the flock. A brother begins to press for partition precisely when the claims of his children for special attention begin to be felt. Normally this occurs when the eldest child of the second son in a family is about five years old.

But the presence of extended families needs to be explained on other grounds than a preference for paternal kinsmen. Elsewhere in the Greek world, where masculine values and preference for paternal kin are equally strong, the residential pattern is often neolocal, that is to say the newly married couple set up house in a home of their own, independent of either family of origin. Such arrangements are, of course, exactly those we might expect to find associated with a bilateral kindred. Amongst the Sarakatsani there seem to be three important reasons why separation does not take place immediately after marriage. First there is the solidarity of the elementary family of origin built up over a period of about 25 years of mutual devotion and mutual responsibility in face of a hostile and critical world. It is difficult to describe adequately the quality of this solidarity, except perhaps to say that even by the standards of Greek family life it is remarkable—proof against appalling adversities and unyielding to the weaknesses of individuals.

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children and babies playing, fighting, and screaming. Except in the early evening when a sleep of exhaustion stills their activities, the scene is one of constant tumult. In this situation a brother cannot strike the children of another. *A fortiori* one wife cannot in any way interfere with the children of another wife. When a father separates two embattled cousins he pushes the child which is not his own out of the way telling it to go to its mother, and then turns to deal his own child a slap across the face. Clearly these symptoms of disorder and indiscipline in the extended family result from the growing isolation of each of the constituent elementary families. The autonomy of each elementary family in regard to all its internal relationships and the control of its children is not compatible with the coexistence of the families in a single domestic unit.

When an extended family of several brothers and their wives has lived as a single household for a number of years it is not unusual to hear in the gossip of other families some criticism of this arrangement. In fact, few extended families survive for longer than ten years without the separation of at least some brothers. No doubt the criticism of the extended family which does remain united beyond this limit may be attributed, in some measure, to the jealousy of other groups in which brothers have not been able to show quite the same mutual devotion. Yet, if they have succeeded in living up to one kinship value, their detractors are right to point out that they have failed to maintain other and more important values. Thus one critic of the Ferendinos family said that it was not right that the second and third brothers in the family, who each had two children, were not yet complete masters in their own households. They were assisting their elder brother with his larger family to a degree which was scarcely honourable when they had their own children to care for. Moreover, it was added, everybody knew that the wives were at each others' throats. It was dangerous to allow this state of affairs to continue because it would inevitably end in quarrels between the brothers themselves.

3. SEPARATION

There is no precise formalized rule as to when brothers ought to separate. Some informants say that when an elder brother has a family of his own, and his younger brother is also married

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and has had two children born to him, the elder brother ought to leave the extended family. Others state that an elder brother with a family should not share a common household with a younger brother after the latter's eldest child approaches school aged (5–6 years of age). It is also said that it is necessary for brothers to remain united in one household until all the sisters are married. All agree that in any individual family the course of events depends upon the particular circumstances.

An examination of field data reveals that broadly speaking there are two modes of separation. Either a group of brothers waits until all the brothers are married before any separation occurs, or, from time to time, individual brothers leave the extended family to set up their own households and withdraw their share of the stock from the common flock before the whole group has completed its marriages.

TABLE I

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

Number of brothers in a sibling group	2	3	4	5	6	
Groups united until all are married	8	4	1	1	0	14
Groups divided before all are married	0	3	4	1	1	9
	8	7	5	2	1	23

In this simple table, data is presented on twenty-three groups of brothers which in recent years completed their marriages. Of these twenty-three groups, nine did not wait until all the brothers were married before some division occurred. On the other hand, of the fourteen groups which have waited until all the brothers were married before dividing their sheep and households, eight had only two brothers and a further four, three brothers. Thus it would appear that there is a correlation between the size of the group of brothers and the method of separation. In groups of four or more brothers, it is generally not possible to wait until all the brothers are married before some division occurs.

Where the division of the household is effected in a single operation after all the brothers have been married, and where it occurs 'with good heart' (μὲ χαλὴ καρδιά), the whole group

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co-operates in the erection of new dwellings, each brother setting up a separate household in a new hut. The common treasury is used to furnish the new homes with the necessary simple domestic equipment. Articles of dowry such as blankets, mirrors, trays, drinking glasses, which may have been in communal use in the extended family, accompany each wife to her new hut. The youngest son with his parents, if they are alive, and his bride remain in the hut of the former joint household.

When these arrangements have been completed, the animals are massed and penned. The animals of each category, rams, ewe lambs, 2-year-old ewes, 3-year-old ewes, and so on are driven in turn through a narrow opening. As each animal passes through the opening, it is nominated to a particular brother, each brother taking animals in a fixed rotation. Or sometimes the animals of each category are divided by the drawing of lots. In either case, as the animals are assigned to each brother, he effects some variation on the existing ear-sign. The youngest brother, who receives an additional half-share of stock for each of his surviving parents, also retains the original ear-sign.

This operation is a severe test of brotherly love. A brother who finds that he has an undue number of indifferent animals in his share is unlikely to believe that the division of stock has been just. Therefore, in some cases, a disinterested relative, generally an uncle, is persuaded to hold the ring and preside over a fair distribution. The separate flocks which result from this division are unlikely to be equal in numbers. For, apart from the extra animals which the youngest son receives for the maintenance of the old parents, any animals and their natural increase which came into the flock as dowry of the brothers' wives are never under any circumstances included in the equal distribution, but remain the property of the brothers concerned.

For the other method of separation, in which individual brothers leave the main body of the extended family to set up their own households, the procedure is similar; but in this case only one share is separated out from the joint property. If this process is continued to its logical conclusion, the operation is finally completed when the youngest brother finds himself alone with his bride and surviving parents in the original extended family hut. In fact, what occurs more frequently in separations

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is married and established before a further and final division is made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
582 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as members of the family, contribute their share towards her dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honourable accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been conserved intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires through marriage in the new elementary family which is then formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife. In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speaking, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication of these general trends.

582 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
[583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry; and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family does not want to be deprived of her working services prematurely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
[584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

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605 574 593 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward to by the children who find there new playfellows and grandparents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety, holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

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In general, cousins who are related through their mothers' sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood, and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless their husbands have developed common interests on the basis of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate where the two sisters have married men who live in the same summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, working in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly, and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

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The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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602 431 term the father sends a generously large sack of flour to his relatives. And when he heard that his affine was in need of some timber to repair the rafters of his house, Alec at once despatched, as a free gift, a mule load of sawn planks of which he happened to possess a small store. The difference between the help given to a kinsman and the co-operative assistance lent to an affine is that in the latter instance there is no such thing as a 'free favour'. Had Alec Katris been able to send his little daughter to live with a cousin or some other kinsman, he would have made a contribution in flour to cover the expense of her presence in the kinsman's family, but it would not have been necessary to make a counter gift of a load of valuable timber. The 'trouble' as opposed to the 'expense' of having the child in the home would have been a 'free favour', making no demands upon the family's corporately owned resources. But where a man does a personal service for an affine, some return favour is always awaited. In these relations the element of contract is always present, and a certain competitive attitude as to which set of affines fulfils its obligations with the greater punctilio.

606 591 596 The fate of a man who lives as a son-in-law in the home of his wife's parents is the extreme example of how affines are always expected to claim their pound of flesh. This arrangement is made only in a case where a man has daughters but no sons. After the elder daughters have been married off in the normal manner, the youngest girl marries a man who 'goes as bride-[583] groom' (πάει γαμπρός) into the home of his wife. As his contribution to the establishment of the new elementary family, he brings with him his share of the flock in his own family of origin, an amount of wealth which corresponds in function to the woman's dowry in the normal marriage. Materially, the [429] bridegroom may do very well out of this transaction, since eventually he becomes the trustee of the whole of his father-in-law's flock. Yet it is difficult to find a man from a family of good standing and moderate wealth to take this step. Particularly [828] in the earlier years a man loses his self-respect and manliness [428] in a situation where he is at the beck and call of his wife's parents, who feel entitled, without embarrassment, to exploit his labour in return for the eventual inheritance of the wife's patrimony; this in most cases greatly exceeds the value of an ordinary dowry.

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ordinary dowry. Yet the Sarakatsani say of such a bridegroom that his fate is 'worse than that of a skinned fox' (χειρότερα ἀπὸ τὴν γδαρμένη ἀλεποῦ). 591 596 606

A man never entirely trusts his affines. Yet precisely because of the co-operative compact which has been established and their equal concern for children who will claim both sets of affines as blood kinsmen, close affinal relatives must give positive proof of seeming to trust one another. A man will sometimes entrust his unmarried sister to the care of a sister's husband or a sister's husband's brother. When Patra Achnoulas went to Athens to see an eye specialist, her sister's husband, who also had business in the capital, accompanied her. It is reasoned correctly that only a mentally deranged person would act dishonourably in such a situation since his punishment at the hands of the community would be ostracism. Yet such is the suspicious attitude adopted towards affines that the Sarakatsani have many stories, no doubt spurious in the main, about illicit sexual intercourse between a bridegroom and his wife's sister; although it is true that these cautionary tales generally involve villagers or gipsies and not Sarakatsani. The true incidence of such affairs amongst the Sarakatsani themselves is probably very low; I could discover only one case, and that did not occur in recent years. If we speak generally of breaches of trust, it may be said that where these occur between kinsmen they produce a feeling of horror akin to the reaction to treason in our own society; but where the breach of trust is between affines the shock rather prompts a degree of criticism that, affines being what they are, a man did not take more care. 602 835 [684]

4. SOME STRUCTURAL IMPLICATIONS

The marriage contract which establishes affinal relations between two previously unrelated families is unique and may not be repeated. For instance, two brothers may not marry two sisters, although they are permitted to marry women related as first cousins. Like the prohibition on marriage in the kindred this reinforces the tendency towards the isolation of the family from collateral kinsmen. The suggestion that if the first marriage were successful it might be a good thing for two brothers to be married to two sisters is met with shocked incredulity. 'They have made one blood. They must search 582 602

/123 cont./

121 the other and vice versa, which any geometric figure is powerless to represent.

594 /124/ We use the term "conjugal family" to mean the husband and wife and their non-married offspring. (1)

1. See E. Durkheim: La famille conjugale, p. 2 f.

[114] We prefer this term to that of "elementary family" proposed by Radcliffe-Brown Introduction, p. 6, for, as Durkheim correctly says, ibid., p. 3, the children move away after their marriage, but the paternal family continues to exist limited to the two spouses, who constitute stable element which characterizes it. The term "conjugal" is therefore more true to the facts.

596 The extended family comprises the oldest parental couple and their male descendants married and surrounded by their families. The young [591] girls, as soon as they are married, leave the paternal hearth for the abode of their husband. That is how this type of family is born (2) and how this family becomes a patrilocal family.

2. According to A. Radcliffe-Brown: Introduction, p. 7.

591 However, it may happen, though exceptionally, that the husband of the young woman is the one to settle near his father-in-law.

474 612 596 The Tséligato is primarily a cooperative of an economic order, the nucleus of which consists of an extended family, economically powerful in the sense that it has at its disposal very large flocks (some of them exceed 15,000 heads of livestock). With this family a certain number of less wealthy conjugal families or extended families become associated. The associated families may be related collaterally or affinally to one another or to the principal family. However, it is equally possible that no bond of kinship unites them. In addition, it sometimes happens that shepherds without flocks attach themselves in that capacity to the Tséligato.

619 Sarakatsani society is made up of all the Sarakatsani together,

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585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

585 602 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in [342] the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

577 834 831 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene: One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

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596 613 591 602 596 (421) If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

596 494 The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

(113) 53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agroticha, pp. 35-39.

311 233 The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

233 420 (423) Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

233 427 591 The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of